

Codebook: The ‘Tough-on-Crime’ Left: Race, Gender, and Elections of Law and Order Democrats

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Survey 1: Nationally Representative Sample

Variable	Description/Question	Measurement
id	Unique ID for each respondent	Randomly generated value
age	How old are you?	1 = Under 18 2 = 18-24 3 = 25-34 4 = 25-44 5 = 45-54 6 = 55 or older
female	Please indicate which of the following describes your gender:	1 = female 0 = male NA = neither describes me well or did not answer
edu	What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you received?	1 = Did not attend high school 2 = some high school, did not graduate 3 = high school graduate 4 = some college 5 = Associate’s Degree 6 = Bachelor’s Degree 7 = Master’s Degree 8 = Professional Degree (e.g., JD, MD) 9 = Doctorate
queer	Which of the following best describes your sexuality?	0 = straight, heterosexual 1 = Gay, Lesbian, Homosexual 2 = Bisexual, pansexual 3 = Other
race	How would you describe your race or ethnicity? Select all that apply.	1 = White 2 = Black or African-American 3 = Hispanic or Latino 4 = Asian 5 = American Indian, Native American, or Alaska Native 6 = Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander 7 = Other

pid	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?	1 = Democrat 2 = Republican 3 = Independent 4 - Don't know/other
pidLean	[Displayed if respondent answered 3 or 4 to pid] Generally speaking, do you consider yourself closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?	1 = Closer to the Republican Party 2 = Closer to the Democratic party 3 = Neither/I don't know
pidStrong	[Displayed if respondent answered 1 or 2 to pid] In general, would you consider yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or not really?	1 = Strong [Democrat/Republican] 2 = Not a strong [Democrat/Republican]
ideo	We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from strong liberal to strong conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?	1 = strongly liberal 2 = liberal 3 = weak liberal 4 = moderate; middle of the road 5 = weak conservative 6 = conservative 7 = strongly conservative
thermometer_1	Please use the sliders below to indicate your feelings about the objects they represent where 0 indicates extremely cold feelings, 100 indicates extremely warm feelings, and 50 is neutral: The Democratic Party	Values between 0 and 100
thermometer_2	Please use the sliders below to indicate your feelings about the objects they represent where 0 indicates extremely cold feelings, 100 indicates extremely warm feelings, and 50 is neutral: The Republican Party	Values between 0 and 100
thermometer_3	Please use the sliders below to indicate your feelings about the objects they represent where 0 indicates extremely cold feelings, 100 indicates extremely warm feelings, and 50 is neutral: President Joe Biden	Values between 0 and 100
thermometer_4	Please use the sliders below to indicate your feelings about the objects they represent where 0 indicates extremely cold feelings, 100 indicates extremely warm feelings, and 50 is neutral: Former President Donald Trump	Values between 0 and 100

all_candA	Indicates if the respondent only chose candidate A across all five conjoint tasks	0 = did not choose all candidate A 1 = chose all candidate A
all_candB	Indicates if the respondent only chose candidate B across all five conjoint tasks	0 = did not choose all candidate B 1 = chose all candidate B
cand_gender	Conjoint experiment: candidate gender attribute	Female or Male
cand_race	Conjoint experiment: candidate race attribute	Black or White
cand_tax	Conjoint experiment: candidate tax position attribute	Increase Income Tax or Increase Sales Tax
cand_pubsec	Conjoint experiment: candidate public security position attribute	Prevention or Tough on Crime
cand_edu	Conjoint experiment: candidate education position attribute	Public School Investment or School Choice
chosen	If the candidate profile was chosen	0 = candidate profile was not chosen 1 = candidate profile was chosen
tough_racist	Please indicate your agreement with the following statement: "tough on crime" policies directly target black people more than white people.	1 = strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = neither agree nor disagree 5 = somewhat disagree 6 = disagree 7 = strongly disagree
dems	Binary variable indicating if respondent is a Democrat or leans Democrat	0 = not Democrat or lean Democrat 1 = Democrat or leans Democrat
reps	Binary variable indicating if respondent is a Republican or leans Republican	0 = not Democrat or lean Republican 1 = Democrat or leans Republican
race_white	Binary variable indicating if respondent identifies as "White"	0 = does not identify as White 1 = does identify as White
race_black	Binary variable indicating if respondent identifies as "Black or African American"	0 = does not identify as Black or African American 1 = does identify as Black or African American
race_hisp	Binary variable indicating if respondent identifies as "Hispanic or Latino"	0 = does not identify as Hispanic or Latino 1 = does identify as Hispanic or Latino
race_asian	Binary variable indicating if respondent identifies as "Asian"	0 = does not identify as Asian 1 = does identify as Asian

Survey 2: Student Sample

Variable	Description/Question	Measurement
id	Unique ID for each respondent	Randomly generated value
gender	How would you describe your gender?	Female Male Other
age	What is your age (in years)?	Number in years
dems	Binary variable indicating if respondent is a Democrat or leans Democrat	0 = not Democrat or lean Democrat 1 = Democrat or leans Democrat
reps	Binary variable indicating if respondent is a Republican or leans Republican	0 = not Democrat or lean Republican 1 = Democrat or leans Republican
chosen	If the candidate profile was chosen	0 = candidate profile was not chosen 1 = candidate profile was chosen
cand_gender	Conjoint experiment: candidate gender attribute	Female or Male
cand_race	Conjoint experiment: candidate race attribute	Black or White
cand_tax	Conjoint experiment: candidate tax position attribute	Increase Income Tax or Increase Sales Tax
cand_pubsec	Conjoint experiment: candidate public security position attribute	Prevention or Tough on Crime
cand_edu	Conjoint experiment: candidate education position attribute	Public School Investment or School Choice